1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1939, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the *mbaret*.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

described as *cemeneneuwet*, i. e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekemik*, "bees", are considered to be males [8], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilise the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*bek*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm [9]. A comb is made (or built, *tec mpokiet* = build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*temeniat*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close up openings in the hive [10]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female which does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and after a time the workers kill them, *kutil kütit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey [11]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamet = queen (lit. mother).
Sekemik = workers (sing. *sekemiat*).
Kapurenik = drones (sing. *kapuriot*).
Uarek = young bees, grubs (sing. *uaruwet*).
Oldoiyet = swarm.
Mpokiet, *Wanasiet* = Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiriritiet = comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born in the autumn.

231 [422] [428] Honey-barrels or hives, *pasanet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the barrel. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just [322] waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[8] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[9] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is regurgitated into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. CARPENTER.)

[10] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bees.

[11] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

281 missed in the count, but they are used even to-day so much for medical and magico-religious purposes that there is a constant drain on them.

The numbers that I actually counted in the three *korossuk* of Kipkorom, Kelpui, and Sonoiyo were:

		Cattle:	Goats:	Dogs:
Kipkorom:	Arap Keter (Ceserdil)	10	—	—
	Arap Menati	—	10	2
	Arap Korucu	5	—	—
	Arap Minio	—	5	2
	Arap Keter (Kipsan)	5	—	—
Sonoiyo:	Arap Silimbo	20	—	—
	Arap Eusi	3	—	—
	Arap Singira	—	—	3
	Arap Ceruiyo	1	—	—
	Kikon arap Silena	15	—	—
	Koriomoi arap Munyenua	15	—	—
	Kiptoo arap Ngamaam	—	5	—
	Kisorio arap Lengei	—	10	—
	Kaola arap Ngamaam	—	4	—
Kelpui:	Arap Mateko	5	—	—
	Samupai arap Yator	6	—	—
		90	34	7

3. The Economic Division of the S. W. Corner of the Forest

423 The forest is regarded by the Dorobo as their special territory. Not only is it divided between the *korossuk*, but families have rights over parts of it, and these rights pass from father to son. The place where the trees come to an end forms a natural boundary and within that boundary was Dorobo ground where few strangers, except the occasional outlaw or fugitive, cared to penetrate. A man's forest rights included hunting, trapping, setting honey-barrels, and food-gathering. If anyone wished to do something on another man's ground, he might do so with the occupier's permission. A section of forest was not the absolute property of an individual and ratified by a pronouncement of the *koret* council, but was held on a tenure based on the fact of hereditary occupation sanctioned by public opinion: a man's section was automatically taken over by his son and this succession was recognized by the people.

[428]

The forest appeals to the Dorobo in four ways: (1) In the trees they had their homes, and they knew no manner of living in which there were no trees; trees therefore go with the land, which in fact does not count as land, but as something which bears trees. The cutting down of one or two trees on a man's section is his own affair, but if people should begin to cut down many trees, public opinion would be against them: *ngut komac Okiot si kotil ketik ce caw, mecome Okied alak*, "if a Dorobo wanted to cut down many trees, the

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a limited extent, by individuals, as well as several species of monkey.[1] There seems to have been no very strict close season, as pig were occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, but they are said to have existed when the Sawe and Kipkoiimet ages were young men, i.e. about 1860. Leopards are still common, and are still shot if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs; they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is not bought, but searched for or stolen from farms. However, a trap made by one Arap Mengati which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of the forest where the Kapchepkend[2] live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two to eight men. If, say, eight went out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along the other bank, so that one or other party would be sure to get something. They met after the kill, and cooked the meat and ate some of it on the spot. The rest was divided among the hunters and taken home for their families, the unsuccessful members of the hunt receiving a share from those who made the kill. The hunter has to provide, not only his own (elementary) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with meat, and the distribution of meat in order of priority, is:—

Hunter: *Meat to*

1. Wife and children.
2. Father and mother.
3. Wife's father.
4. Neighbours (clansmen).

A man has (or had till they were evicted by the government) an hereditary right over a piece of forest, which included hunting, trapping, bee-keeping, and food-gathering. Other people who wanted to hunt there asked permission to do so, for otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone

[1] *Sairet*, Colobus guereza;
Chereret, Cercopithecus grisco-viridis;
Tiviet, Sykes' monkey or Cercopithecus albigularis;
Kemokchot, the baboon, Papio cynocephalus.

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

764 [171] [511] [556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. [782] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Ûût, nge gurgurta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What 765 171 was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.[1]

• 428 [171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of [171] the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol doroboni leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows 768 as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving [583] daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1. [See Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 765--Analyst]